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AUTHOR Poster, John B.
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ABSTRACT

The contraditions within the systems of school support and school policy-making make it difficult to find a manner of governance of the social studies program which is protected from extraneous influence and yet avoids creating a buffer between the schools and the democratic forces to which they are responsive. State and federal governments previously have been reluctant to assume control of the schools, leaving this power to educators in local school districts. Increasing state financing and concomitant growth of state authority at the expense of local school administrators are likely to prove significant in the particular curriculum area of political education. The type of political education favored by state authorities is that which produces the subject citizen, as opposed to the participant citizen, and maintains the status quo. The structure of school control needs to be based on models which remove political education from direct state control and which broaden participation in its governance. Models for the governance of political education include: the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education, the British Broadcasting Corporation, and "parochiad" bills. (Author/KSM)

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Implications for the Social Studies of Increased State Educational Financing

John B. Poster

University of Chicago

Introduction

Much public school controversy in the United States has revolved around two unresolved dilemmas: (1) a legal theory of state education responsibility versus a literal theory of district effort; and (2) a doctrine of popular school governance versus a tradition of expert school administration. The contradictions within the systems of school support and school policy-making aggravate the constant problem of finding a means "to protect the schools from extraneous influence and at the same time avoid setting up a buffer between them and the democratic forces to which they are supposedly responsive."[1]

The first dilemma appears to be slated for a gradual resolution through action in state courts and demands of local influentials for property tax relief.[2] The assumption by state government of its legal obligations for support of public education will affect the second dilemma - the appropriate balance of

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[1] Joseph Pois, The School Board Crisis, (Chicago, Educational Methods, Inc.) 1964, p. 221.

[2] Robert Maynard Hutchins, The Learning Society, (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968), p. 105. See George Neil, "Rodriguez Ruling Fails to Halt Finance Reform," Kappan, Vol. LIV, No. 9, May, 1973, p. 637 and Thomas A. Shannon, "Rodriguez: A Dream Shattered Or a Call for Finance Reform," Kappan, Vol. LIV, No. 9, May, 1973, p. 587.

power in school control between school trustees and school administrators. "If we look at any of the fundamental problems of education. . . and at how much control over these critical matters is actually in the hands of the local school board," states Koerner, "we see that the board's freedom is in each case severely limited in three ways: its preoccupation with housekeeping details, its own failure to assert its authority, and the external controls forced on it by others."[3]

The Age of the Expert

The growth of education as a profession was facilitated by the reluctance of state and federal government to assume control of the nation's schools in spite of their enormous education contributions in the form of landgrants and subsidies. Local school districts emerged as relatively unfettered agents of the state. As an English observer notes, "Into this power vacuum the teachers' professional agencies and the nationally persuasive bodies like the great publishers swept with all their force. Some universities,

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[3] James D. Koerner, Who Controls American Education?, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), p. 125.

like Chicago and Teachers College at Columbia University, acted like missionary centers. The National Education Association achieved formative power."[4]

Educators influenced state teacher certification codes, set qualifications for state education officers, and standardized degrees and degree programs for education practitioners. They reorganized academic disciplines into curriculum areas and developed specialized communications networks. They attempted to formulate an ethical code and instituted lobbies at the state and federal levels. Schoolmen constructed an education establishment and restricted the sphere of lay jurisdiction in school decision-making by categorizing major areas of concern as professional matters. One analyst notes that ". . . there is no center which can make any significant decisions for the nation's schools."[5] This situation has helped to induce a collegiality system in which school people have been able to expand their hegemony at the district level partly because of their ability to bring to bear on diverse, atomized school boards, the shared expectations

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[4] Edmund J. King, Other Schools and Ours,(New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1958, 1963, 1967) p. 185.

[5] Amitai Etzioni, "Schools as a 'Guidable' System," Freedom Bureaucracy, and Schooling, Vernon F. Haubrich, editor,(Washington, D.C., Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1971) p. 39.

of a large number of role-related participants in the educational enterprise. "Their pleas of impotence notwithstanding," concludes Rosenthal, "the educators run American schools."[6]

Schoolmen and the State

At the 1971 Conference on State Funding of Public Schools, Governor Russell W. Peterson of Delaware declared, "We talk a lot about financing, pouring more money into education, and the great need for more education, but rarely do we talk about results."[7]

Writing in Compact in April, 1969, Governor Tom McCall of Oregon maintained, "I see a most urgent need for states to hammer out consensus on basic school programs and objectives. This is eminently a political process."[8] In Illinois the superintendent

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6 Alan Rosenthal, "Community Leadership and Public School Politics: Two Case Studies," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1960, p. 498, quoted in Governing Education, Alan Rosenthal, ed., (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1969), p. 280.

7 Who Should Pay for Public Schools, Report of the Conference on State Financing of Public Schools, Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1971), p. 31.

8 Tom McCall, "Control of Education and State Responsibility," Compact, Volume III, No. 2, April, 1969, p. 17.

of public instruction announced, ". . . my administration will remain steadfast on three points: there will be new recognition standards; the submission of program plans will be required; and the community must be involved in the planning process."[9] Guthrie and Skene conclude that, "A major consequence of the escalation of education's political status is that state legislatures more frequently concern themselves with issues of educational policy."[10]

Schoolmen and Political Education

In some subject-fields the growth of state authority at the expense of the perquisites enjoyed by local school administrators would appear to make little or no difference. In other curriculum areas, particularly political education, the change in the power equation is likely to prove highly significant.

According to school tradition political education in the United States at the precollegiate level is embodied in the social studies

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9 Michael J. Bakalis, "State Standards for Public Schools," Chicago Daily News, December 9, 1973, Section 1, p. 10.

10 James W. Guthrie, and Paula H. Skene, "The Escalation of Pedogogical Politics," Kappan, February, 1973, Volume LIV, Number 6, p. 386.

sequence. It plays a part in history courses and moves to center stage in civics, problems of democracy, government, and political science offerings. It sometimes masquerades under the title of critical thinking or creative citizenship. Through publications, institutes, and annual meetings the National Council for the Social Studies disseminates research and rationales for and about political education.[11]

The National Assessment of Educational Progress separated citizenship (i.e., political) education from the social studies in its assessment program. The citizenship data evaluation, however, is being directed by a five member steering committee appointed by the National Council for the Social Studies.[12]

Political education in the schools as it currently exists is often criticized on the grounds of quality and efficacy. Dreeben characterizes it as scarcely more than a bowlderized version of

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[11] See John J. Patrick, Political Socialization of American Youth: Implications for Secondary School Social Studies, Research Bulletin Number 3, (Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1967) and Political Science in the Social Studies, Donald H. Riddle and Robert S. Cleary, editors, 36th Yearbook (Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1966) and Mary Jane Turner, Materials for Civics, Government, and Problems of Government: Political Science in the New Social Studies, (Boulder: The Social Science Education Consortium, Inc. no date).

[12] National Assessment of Educational Progress Newsletter, December-January 1972-73, Volume VI, Number 1, p. 7.

enlightenment philosophy.[13] Langton and Jennings assert that for older students, it becomes increasingly redundant.[14] Merelman argues that political socialization is more influenced by length and quality of education than by social studies courses.[15]

In fact, such shortcomings might be expected since bureaucratic institutions are unlikely havens for critical examination of authority. What is surprising is that political education retains so much vitality. Litt argues that some civics courses do enhance student political sophistication.[16] Langton and Jennings believe that school efforts at political socialization do produce an increased sense of political efficacy in minority students.[17] New courses or course materials stressing politics rather than governmental structures claim significant value change in students through

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13 Robert Dreeben, On What Is Learned in School, (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1968) p. 147.

14 Kenneth P. Langton and M. Kent Jennings, "Political Socialization and the High School Civics Curriculum," American Political Science Review, Volume 62, Number 3, September, 1968, p. 859.

15 Richard M. Merelman, Political Socialization and Educational Climates: A Study of Two School Districts, (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc.), pp. 145-148.

16 Edgar Litt, "Civic Education, Community Norms, and Political Indoctrination," American Sociological Review, Vol. 28, No. 1, February, 1965, pp. 69-75.

17 Kenneth P. Langton and M. Kent Jennings, op. cit., p. 864.

involvement in local political processes.[18] Finally, there are occasional testimonials from the consumers. A leader of the 1964 Berkeley free speech movement complained, "What we learned in grammar school about democracy and freedom nobody takes seriously, but we do."[19]

School personnel including administrators and social studies teachers are frequently described as politically passive and anti-intellectual. Crane argues that the recruitment patterns of school superintendents produce a disproportionate number of rural born incumbents. The result is the imposition of rural conservative attitudes on urban school systems.[20] Carson, et. al., lament the low level of teacher political participation in the community and observe, "The situation is not without poignancy, for it is certain that in indoctrinating their students with the values of American

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[18] Report of the Invitational Conference on Citizenship Education, The Charles P. Schwartz Citizenship Project, in cooperation with The Johnson Foundation, October, 1969, pps. 1-19, and John R. Madden, "Project 18: Positively Influencing Political Decisions," Kappan, Vol. LIV, No. 9, May, 1973, pps. 618-620.

[19] "Chronology of Events: Three Months of Crisis," by the editors of California Monthly, quoted in The Berkeley Student Revolt, Lipset and Wolin, editors, (New York: Anchor Books, 1965) p. 173.

[20] Robert Crain, School Desegregation in the North: Eight Comparative Case Studies of Community Structure and Policy Making, (Office of Education Project No. 5-0641-2-12-1, Chicago National Opinion Research Center, April, 1966) pps. 156-157.

society, one of the main goals of teachers is to emphasize the active participation of citizens as a necessary condition for the maintenance of democracy."[21]

Dawson and Prewitt argue that the role of teacher involves certain conflicts including enforcing conformity to school rules and regulations and transmission of the political norms of the society. The teacher is expected to honor consensus values and eschew partisan values.[22] Scammon and Wattenberg typify Americans as liberal on economic issues, conservative on social issues, and increasingly moral on the race issue.[23] Comparing the Scammon-Wattenberg analysis of contemporary American political attitudes with Zeigler's description of the high school teacher as a political centrist,[24] it appears that the political views of school

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21 Robert B. Carson, Keith Goldhammer, Roland J. Pellegrini, Teacher Participation in the Community, (Eugene, Oregon: The Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, University of Oregon, 1967), p. 54.

22 Richard E. Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, Political Socialization, (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1969), p. 160.

23 Richard M. Scammon and Ben J. Wattenberg, The Real Majority, (New York: Coward - McCann, Inc., 1970) pp. 274-276.

24 Harmon Zeigler, The Political World of the High School Teacher (Eugene, Oregon: The Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, University of Oregon, 1966), p. 130

personnel do not differ markedly from the outlook attributed to other "unblack, unpoor, unyoung" members of the population. If teachers are less aggressive than other groups in voicing and pursuing allegiances and interests, it may be due to their realistic perception of sanctions likely to be imposed on them for such activity, as suggested by Hepburn in a study of the aftermath of the Florida teachers' strike.[25]

Two Types of Political Education

After a lengthy study of the Yugoslav educational system, Georgeoff warned, "In modern society great importance is attached to the social studies as a means for the perpetuation and transmission of the values inherent in the political form of a nation's government. The social studies are used by the government in power to bind the coming generation to itself."[26] In the United

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[25] Mary Allaire Hepburn, "The Political Involvement of Social Studies Teachers," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, August, 1969.

[26] John Georgeoff, The Yugoslav Elementary School Curriculum, (Purdue University Studies in Education, n. 4, 1965) p. i.

States, youth are not taught allegiance to a particular regime, but are enculturated into a political culture based on conceptions of the real and the ideal and the expectation of progress. Authorities in the United States tend to represent contemporary American society as more just, prosperous, and egalitarian than it is and to portray American political traditions as less radical than they are, thereby closing the gap between the real and the ideal and reducing citizen dissatisfaction.

In their provocative work, The Civic Culture, Almond and Verba describe two attitudes toward government - the subject citizen's and the participant citizen's.

> The subject is aware of specialized governmental authority; he is affectively oriented to it, perhaps taking pride in it, perhaps disliking it; and he evaluates it either as legitimate or as not. But the relationship is toward the system on the general level, and toward the output, administrative, or "downward flow" side of the political system; it is essentially a passive relationship. . .
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> The participant culture is one in which the members of the society tend to be explicitly oriented to the system as a whole and to both the political and administrative structures and processes: in other words, to both the input and output aspects of the political system.[27]

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[27] Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1965,) pps. 17-18.

Another way of putting it is to typify the subject citizen as possessing performance competence - the ability to vote, sit on juries, pay taxes, and serve in the military; the participant citizen can be seen as exhibiting political competence - the ability to join voluntary associations, lobby, demonstrate, make contributions to candidates and causes, and generally initiate change.

Edwin Fenton, perhaps intuitively, acknowledged the possibility of different and classifiable citizen roles when he wrote:

> Authorities disagree about the characteristics of a good citizen. Some argue that he should be a participant in the political process trained to analyze political issues in the light of evidence and come to sound conclusions about them. Others claim that since elected and appointed officials make the key decisions in the political arena, a good citizen must only know how to choose wisely between competing groups of potential decision-makers, and to pressure them for particular policies once they are elected.[28]

As Almond and Verba point out, the role of participant citizen develops on top of the role of subject citizen.[29] Both sets of

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[28] Edwin Fenton, The New Social Studies, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1967), pps. 6-7.

[29] Almond and Verba, op. cit., p. 176.

competencies are necessary for the survival of the civic culture. "There is political activity, but not so much as to destroy governmental authority; there is involvement and commitment, but they are moderated; there is political cleavage, but it is held in check."[30]

We may conclude that the objective of political education should not be the blind allegiance preferred by authorities, or the mindless activism demanded by fanatics, but the development of a personal political perspective rooted in a desire to embrace freedom rather than escape it. "How could a mass democracy work if all the people were deeply involved in politics?" ask Berelson and his colleagues. "Extreme interest goes with extreme partisanship and might culminate in rigid fanaticism that could destroy democratic processes if generalized throughout the community."[31] Almond and Verba concur that a mixture of subject and participant citizen orientations and competencies is "particularly appropriate for the mixed political system that is democracy."[32]

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30 Almond and Verba, op. cit., p. 360.

31 Bernard Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, William N. McPhee, Voting, (Chicago: The Univeristy of Chicago Press, 1954), p. 314.

32 Almond and Verba, op. cit., p. 360.

Political Education and the State

In Storm Over the States, former North Carolina Governor Terry Sanford argues that "Responsible newspapers see their role as participants in the process of citizenship education. . . "[33] According to Sanford this education would include

> . . . reporting fully and perceptively the actions, the difficulties, and the problems of state government. It would require newspapers to draw comprehensive pictures of the needs and shortages, demands and decisions, stumbling blocks and assets that are part of any government. At the same time, they would have to do the much harder job of reporting what is not happening.[34]

Nowhere in Storm Over the States does Sanford assign this sort of citizenship education to the schools. Why? Newspapers are part of local power structures and therefore influence the political consensus of the community. Schools occupy an ambivalent position in the local power structure.

Readers familiar with the fate of the Office of Economic

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[33] Terry Sanford, Storm Over the States, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967). p. 48.

[34] Ibid., p. 51.

Opportunity or the Model Cities Program know that community influentials do not look kindly upon ameliorative efforts which, perhaps parenthetically, change the pattern of participation in policy-making. This assertion does not contradict the earlier observation that educators run American schools. Power structures and communities generally occupy a larger territorial base than school districts, and school trustees are not usually leading local influentials. Gittell reports that the New York state commissioners of education played a major role in the removal of the entire New York City Board of Education in 1961.[35] Schoolmen work within constraints set by large ruling frameworks and, ultimately, the state political system.

The type of political education favored by state authorities is that which produces the subject-citizen and maintains the status quo. This orientation is not only a product of incumbent self-interest, but may also be attributed to the omnipresent moralistic tradition in American history and politics. Boorstin claims that, "The facts of our history have. . . made it easy for us to assume

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35 Marilyn Gittell, Participants and Participation, (New York: The Center for Urban Education, Frederick A. Praeger, 1967) p. 47.

that our nation's life has had a clear purpose."[36] Purcell notes that what was unique about America - free land, the lack of a ruling class, a frontier - lies in the past and either the nation has realized its purpose or failed.[37] Americans must either see the actual as good or admit that an unattained ideal reflects on the validity of their notion of America as a "city on a hill - the last, best hope of mankind." The interest of authorities, therefore, in glossing over existing inequities is inspired by both careerist and ideological motives.

Curricula which most brazenly challenge the cosmetic version of the American past or present are most likely to fall into disfavor with state officials. Sociologist Everett K. Wilson protests that, insofar as pre-collegiate education is concerned, his discipline is ". . . doomed to become a thin gruel, so concocted as to affirm the current verities and placate any distrustful authority. . . "[38] Very recently in Georgia, it is reported, a previously

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[36] Daniel Boorstin, The Genius of American Politics, (Chicago, Phoenix Books, The University of Chicago Press, fourth edition, 1959) p. 11.

[37] Edward A. Purcell, Jr., The Crisis of Democratic Theory, Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1973), p. 220.

[38] "The Sociological Resources for the Social Studies Course in Sociology for High School Students," paper delivered at the Sixty-second Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, San Francisco, August 30, 1967), pp. 1-2.

approved social studies textbook, was dropped from the state adopted list because, according to rumor, it contained a favorable treatment of the United Nations.

Anderson warns that

> . . . . if the teaching of civic education and related subjects is watched by the government for any sign of heresy, the resulting caution among teachers will spread into all their lessons. Few pupils will learn how to learn under such inhibiting supervision.[39]

Although some states have been laboratories for democracy, others have required loyalty oaths of teachers, enforced segregation, insisted on less than candid history texts, injected doctrinaire propaganda into the curriculum, and demanded prayers in schools. Schoolmen and school trustees have not always followed enlightened policies, but their edicts have not been law. The schoolmen have been subject to national influences - a welcome antidote to provincialism,[40] and the trustees have not had ambitions for a public career which could be forwarded by school board membership.

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[39] C. Arnold Anderson, "Education and Social Change," School Review, Volume 80, Number 3, May, 1972, p. 449.

[40] See Nationalizing Influences on Secondary Education, Roald F. Campbell and Robert A. Bunnell, (Chicago: Midwest Administration Center, University of Chicago, 1963). Some of the same influences affect elementary education.

Conflict of interest laws prohibiting authorities from joining in decisions in which they have a financial stake are widely regarded as a logical requisite for honest government. Clearly, elected or appointed officials should not be in a position to protect or enrich themselves through exercise of their public trust. Is it not appropriate, therefore, to construe the control of political education by politicians as a conflict of interest?

Models for the Governance of Political Education

Jarolimek speculates that "What seems to be needed is some type of coalition between students, faculty, community, and administration that would insure a realignment of the existing power structure in the governance of secondary schools."[41] Although Jarolimek is speaking of more than political education and only of secondary schools, the observation that we need a reform in the structure of school control is well-founded.

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41 John Jarolimek, "Concerning the Matter of Activism in Social Studies Education," Social Education, February, 1972, Vol. 36, No. 2, p. 154.

A common assumption has been that overall control of schools means control of each of the subject-areas in schools. This assumption should be challenged, at least as it pertains to political education. Hambrick notes that, "An issue which appears to be increasing in importance in education is the relationship between freedom of parts and accountability to the whole."[42]

Is it possible to devise a new means of controlling and overseeing school-based political education - a system which will maintain sufficient linkage to regular school government to facilitate budgeting and scheduling - and adequate insulation from the lines of authority leading to the state capital to insure that such education will be a beacon and a mirror to society? There are many instances of separation of purse strings and politics. Of particular interest are those institutions which regard education as one of their functions and which are not completely controlled by their source of funding.

One of the most obvious but weakest instances is teacher training. College and university professionalization efforts are reviewed by the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE). "It should be remembered," Darland advises,

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42 Ralph Hambrick, "Persistent Policy Issues: Toward Reinterpretation and Political Invention," paper delivered at the 1971 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Sept. 7

"that NCATE is governed by an independent and broadly representative professional group."[43] According to Mayor and Swartz, NCATE continues to play an important part in the design and direction of teacher education programs in spite of the fact that these programs are financed by students, states or private institutions rather than NCATE.[44]

It must be admitted that NCATE's influence is not equal to that of the sponsoring institution or state legislatures, but an NCATE model augmented by community advisory boards and national citizenship organizations such as Common Cause might be an effective instrument for the governance of political education. Currently the regional accrediting associations perform some vaguely analogous review functions, but as quasi-public agencies they maintain credibility by avoiding controversy. Their power base and their orientation would have to be altered before they could play a more active role in the control of political education.

Another model is furnished by the "parochiad" bills framed

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[43] David Darland, "Preparation in the Governance of the Profession," Teachers for the Real World, B. Othanel Smith, ed., (Washington, D.C.: The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, 1969), p. 148.

[44] John R. Mayor and Willis G. Swartz, Accreditation in Teacher Education, Its Influence on Higher Education, (Washington, D.C.: National Council on Accrediting, 1965) p. 311.

by many state legislatures to provide subsidies to parochial schools (or their students) and yet maintain a semblance of separation between church and state. These measures extend funds to non public schools with guidelines as to the use of public money. The governing body of the non public institution retains, however, major policy-making and administrative authority in the disbursement of state funds.

Separation of political education and state is as important as separation of church and state. Justice Burger's warning to legislators that they must avoid "entanglement" in church affairs is equally valid for solons and school instruction in government and politics. At the state level potential governing groups such as social studies councils,[45] chapters of the American Political Science Association, and better government associations already exist and might assume responsibility for disentangled political education.

A third model is afforded by the British Broadcasting Corporation. One of the most respected educational institutions in the world, the BBC is a public corporation chartered, licensed, and financed (through a tax on radio and television sets) by the

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[45] See "Standards for Social Studies Teachers," and "Curriculum Guidelines," Social Education, Vol. 35, No. 8, December, 1971, pp. 845-869.

government in power in the name of the Crown. Nine governors are appointed by the government in power for five year terms. The government may dismiss the governors, revoke the charter and license or nationalize the corporation when it has reasonable cause. It has never done so. A number of national and regional committees of national and regional committees exist to advise the board of governors.

> A cardinal feature . . . (of the BBC) has been. . . relative independence of state control. . . On January 26, 1955, the Assistant Postmaster General in the House of Commons refused to answer a question about BBC programs, saying that it had been the policy of successive governments to leave control of the programs to the corporation, and that he therefore would not even discuss the matter.[46]

The BBC is a national corporation but the same legal structure could be employed for constituting political education in various institutions as a public corporation chartered by each state of the United States. The federal government supports (with some obvious misgivings) the public Broadcasting Service and state analogues including school programs are certainly conceivable. (Partly because of PBS's uncertain future and partly because of the BBC's

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[46] Burton Paula, British Broadcasting: Radio and Television in the United Kingdom, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1956), pp. 33-41.

broader base developed through the elaboration of advisory groups the BBC model is superior to the PBS example.)

A number of other partial models, some based on educational systems, might serve as starting points for the generation of new theories of political education governance. The province of New Brunswick funds public education but local authorities make expenditure decisions. Various decentralization efforts in urban areas have achieved questionable success, but decentralization may prove a fruitful concept in relation to a state department of instructional services and protection of political socialization courses.

Conclusion

Many additional questions could have been developed in this paper such as whether political education in colleges and universities ought to be included in the proposal reform, or whether political education would be better served by removal from the school environment and installation in community centers, Chambers of Commerce, Union halls, and other more policy-oriented institutions. These problems will be more easily resolved once a commitment to sustain political education as a countervailing as well as a conforming force in the American democratic process has been

attained. The need to transmit libertarian as well as ~~egalitarian~~ libertarian precepts is eloquently summarized by Hartz.

> At the bottom of the American experience of freedom, not in antagonism to it but as a constituent element of it, there has always lain the inarticulate premise of conformity, which critics from the time of Cooper to the time of Lewis have sensed and furiously attacked. "Even what is best in America is compulsory," Santayana once wrote, "the idealism, the zeal, the beautiful happy unison of its great moments." Thus, while millions of Europeans have fled to America to discover the freedom of Paine, there have been a few Americans, only a few of course, who fled to Europe to discover the freedom of Burke. The ironic flaw in American liberalism lies in the fact that we never had a real conservative tradition.[47]

Political education should continue to survey consensus values and seek to promote American social and political integration. It should also seek to mobilize sentiment for the alternatives democracy needs to offer meaningful choices. The subject-citizen and the participant-citizen are equally necessary for the perpetuation of a viable constitutional system.

It is unfortunate that at the same moment when American educators seek to encourage and capitalize on student diversity,

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[47] Louis Hartz, The Liberal Tradition in America, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1955), p. 57.

state authorities move towards greater educational precision and standardization. Superintendent Dale Parnell of Oregon asks how states can accede to demands for equality of educational opportunity without instituting a statewide basic curriculum?[48] School administrators and teachers, nevertheless, face requests almost every day to provide more instruction germane to the poor or to ethnic and racial minorities or to women or to the committed or to the alienated.

The manner of governance of an instructional program is a significant determinant of the relative effectiveness of that program. Instead of standardizing the curriculum, why not diversify the governing structure to allow different groups to pursue different conceptions of quality education and stand accountable for realization of their premises? Removing political education from direct state control and broadening participation in its governance will protect that education from creating buffers between it and the public.

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[48] Letter to the author, May 3, 1972.